791 The pi-mu is a unique figure in Lolo society and quite
793 different from ordinary people in his responsibility. He spe-
756 cializes in religious and magic activities. There is at least one pi-mu in each village, either a black or a white Lolo, but at present most pi-mu are white Lolo. Only a male can become a pi-mu. He goes through a tutorial system, the only kind of formal instruction among the Lolo which requires learning and training. Tutorial instruction is usually handed down from father to son or from uncle to nephew as a family occupation. The pi-mu keeps in the family scriptural books, [779] including those on ancestral legends, fortune-telling, divination, invocation, exorcism, praying for rain, and others, all transmitted and copied in Lolo. [95] The Lolo written lan- [212] guage is not commonly used, and its preservation and transmission are to be credited mainly to the pi-mu.

791 Besides the pi-mu, there is another kind of magician
756 called su-nieh. The su-nieh has no tutor. He is just an ordi-
[787] nary person possessed by a su-nieh ghost that causes sickness or loss of mind, but later, after having sacrificed to it a white sheep and a white chicken in the woods and having recovered from sickness, he becomes a su-nieh. Both men and women can become su-nieh, but the art is not transmittible and also scriptures do not exist. Ordinarily, when a su-nieh performs ● [755] magic to cure sickness, he beats a sheepskin drum, whirls and dances — his whole body shivering and his mouth muttering chants — moves around and imprecates to the utmost of his ability.

Although the pi-mu and the su-nieh belong to different systems, they have the common aim of practicing magic. The duty of a pi-mu is very complicated, while that of a su-nieh is comparatively simple. We shall describe separately their work and performances to make clear the position of magic among the Lolo.

787 First, let us discuss divination, a form of divine revelation that foretells good or bad fortune. There are two opposite kinds of divination. The first kind is prediction made by the god through human mouth, or the communication of divine will by the priest in forecasting future developments — a type of divination practiced universally in Siberia, Africa, and Polynesia. The other kind is practiced through the observation of physical objects or of animal entrails, bones, skeletons, and other things. In order to foretell the future, the magician has to have strict technical training to enable him to observe the important positions and spots of animal bones and entrails. It is to this kind that the entire system of Lolo divination belongs.

781 Although it can also be performed by ordinary persons, Lolo divination is practiced mostly by the pi-mu. On occasions such as weddings, funerals, sickness, traveling, hunting, and clan-feud fighting, divination is performed to forecast good or bad fortune. There are many forms of divination, of which it suffices to mention only a few to give a general idea. The commonest form is bone divination by means of roasted lamb shoulders. The pi-mu first takes a lamb shoulder, burns it on a grass fire, and then examines carefully the cracks formed on the bone to determine the good or bad omens for the occasion. The main form of the crack is usually shaped like a cross and can be divided into four lines: upper and lower, right and left. The left line represents oneself, the right line ghosts and evil spirits, the upper line the outside, and the lower line the inside. If the left line is straight and long, it presages good luck because this shows that the person himself is stronger than the evil spirit; the contrary denotes bad luck, in this case the ghost being stronger than he is. A lower part that is more clearly visible and straight than the upper also augurs good luck. In short, there are different kinds of detailed explanations for these cracks, from which one can get some idea of their significance. Bone divination also involves the examination of mottled spots on a pig's rib, as well as the outside and inside curves of the cartilage of a chicken's bill, all these signs presaging good or evil luck.

The pi-mu also kills chicken for divination. First, he recites the name of the person and the thing to be asked for, [96] then he kills the chicken and throws it outside the door to determine from the direction of its head the kind of luck the person will have. The direction outside represents ghosts and evil spirits and the direction inside, oneself; thus it presages good luck if the chicken's head faces outside and bad luck if it faces inside. If it faces neither side, or if it lies across, then it is even luck. Still more popular is divination with an egg, usually practiced to query the ghost about sickness. When the [155] author was in Lei-pao 雷波 he personally saw the pi-mu, Hu Chan-yün, rub the body of his patient with an egg; then, while reciting an incantation, he broke the egg in a bowl of water to examine the radiating points of the yoke to determine the kind of ghost that caused the illness.

Wood carving is another method of divination, used mostly to find out about traveling and fighting. In the former case, the simplest method is to take a strip or a slice of wood, recite the name of the person and the direction in which he will be traveling, and then use a knife to carve many marks on the

雷波 [Errata. Should be Lei-po — Analyst.]

755 There are many kinds of sickness in Lolo families, but instead of using medicine, they effect cures through magic. First, the pi-mu will decide which evil spirit caused the sickness; then he will perform magic to cure it through exorcism. The way to cure a sick person is to send off the evil spirit, called "sending off the Buddha" by the Han-Chinese of the
[753] border regions. According to Lolo tradition, all sicknesses and misfortunes are caused by evil spirits. Therefore, three
751 times each year, on the third, seventh, and tenth months of
789 the lunar calendar, they perform an exorcising ceremony for the purpose of driving away the ghosts to ensure peace and safety for the family.

756 While the author was staying at San-ho-i-ta in Ta-
789 ling Shan, he witnessed with his own eyes an exorcising ceremony at Li-ch'ü Ta-chi's household. The pi-mu, a villager, was a white Lolo called Shê-chia-erh. Followed by his disciple, who was none other than his twelve-or thirteen-year-old son, he performed with a bagful of magic tools. Both master
789 and disciple sat side by side behind the kitchen stove which was ordinarily the seat for honored guests. The father and son tied together a straw figure and cut some wood into tiny pieces that looked like coins. Then Shê-chia-erh rang a bell and began to recite the scripture, his disciple following him in the recitation. As they were chanting the scripture, they worked with their hands on the straw figure. The pi-mu then put a piece of stone inside the stove until it became red hot, after which he took it out of the stove, carried it with him to the master's bedroom, and walked around it once as if to chase away the ghosts. After this he came back and sat down again on the ground to recite more scripture, at the same time distributing the wooden pieces.

After the pi-mu had tied up four straw figures, Ta-chi, his wife nee En-cha, and their three children all squatted on the right side of the stove, the whole family making a circle. A white Lolo slave then grasped a cock with both hands and circled it above Ta-chi's head nine times before handing it to Shê-chia-erh. Then, with all his strength, the pi-mu struck the cock's neck with a sharp knife, all the time incessantly reciting the charms. After the cock had died, its blood was spread over the straw figures and the feathers were stuck on their bodies. The slave then led in a goat and held it seven times around Ta-chi's and the others' heads before killing
[801] it and sprinkling its blood over the straw figures. As the Lolo consider an odd number to be lucky, there has to be seven or nine rounds. The death of the cock and goat has the

1 [Errata, Should be "liang" — Analyst.]

789 idea of vicarious suffering for another's sins, somewhat similar to the Jewish concept of the scapegoat.

The pi-mu continued to perform many kinds of magic, blowing on the chicken to make noise and distributing the wooden coins. At the same time the Lolo inside the house shouted [98] and yelled, making noise until midnight. Finally they carried the straw figures and wooden coins outside the house to be thrown away in distant places before they burst forth into another round of outcries. The straw figures, shaped after the evil spirits, represent what Frazer calls imitative magic. After the vicarious punishment of the chicken and goat, these figures would be cast off outside the house so that they would not cast evil spells inside to further injure the living or cause illness.

The interpreter of the inspection team, Hu Chan-yün, was also a Lolo pi-mu. He once told the author that the first [776] scripture which Shê-chia-erh recited is an invitation to the mountain spirit, mi-hsi, which shows that the Lolo pay special attention to the mountain spirits; the second scripture contains an imprecation on those clan enemies who have been cursing the master of the family; the third is a book of exorcism to expel the ghosts and evil spirits from the house. The Lolo believe that the spells cast by evil spirits originate from enemy imprecations, and that the method of delivery from the curse is a counter-imprecation through exorcism, which will bring destruction to the enemies of the family.

755 The su-nieh is a Lolo magician who also specializes in curing sickness, but his magic differs slightly from that of the pi-mu. After having [illegible] a sheep or a pig around the body of a sick person three times, the su-nieh kills the animal and places it outside the door. His body shivering all over, he leaps and beats on a drum, uttering meaningless loud cries; next, holding in his mouth the sheep's genitals, he tosses them to and fro three or four times. The sheep's skin is then peeled off and given to him as a reward for his services, in the same way as the pi-mu gets his animal skin. Finally, after taking up a jar shaped from mud and covered with a lid, the su-nieh goes into the house to search for evil spirits to put inside the jar, which is immediately covered and taken out to be buried in the ground. This means that the evil spirit has been buried and will never again cast its harmful spell on the people.

789 From the rituals of exorcism it can be seen that the
754 Lolo practice imprecation in clan feuds to destroy their enemies. As we know, there are two kinds of magic, the white

3:Ma--1 E-5 (1943) 1944 AE 4 Lolo AE 4

EXORCISM, A CUSTOM OF THE BLACK LOLO

The Lolo people are superstitious. Every time sickness or disaster befalls them, they believe that in this mysterious universe some evil spirits are at work, and the only recourse they have is to ask their Pai-mao [wizard priest] to chant liturgies for the extirpation of bad luck.

In the early summer of 1943 I was engaged in a research study of the Lolo language among the Black Lolo (Heh-I) at the Mou-lien district in Wu-ting, and had occasion to observe their customs and rituals in relation to the translation of the Lolo scriptures. This is because what is recorded in their scriptures is largely the gist of their customs and rituals. So in order to thoroughly understand the Lolo scriptures, it is necessary to become familiar with the customs of their tribe.

An exorcising ceremony was witnessed by me at Wan-teh village. The mistress of the house was a certain Mrs. An Hsiao-tseng, whose nephew had been wounded by bandits and was confined to bed. Although they had secured some herb medicine to be applied to the wounds, she would not believe that the medicine could heal the wounds, contending that they were the result of some evil influence. As long as the evil spirit remained the wounded person could not get well, and she begged leave of me to ask the Pai-mao, Chang Wen-yuan, who was translating the scriptures with me to perform exorcism for her. As I was eager to observe the rite I readily agreed.

Although it was only early summer, the weather was unbearably hot, as Wan-teh was a hollow plain surrounded by mountains and completely dried up for the lack of rainfall in many months. I went to the house after lunch with two Pai-mao, Chang Wen-yuan and Chang tzu-hsin, but the ritual lasted until the starlit night. The whole ceremony consisted of two

parts, outdoor and indoor, the former taking up a greater part of the day. In the fierce heat of the sun I observed the performances of Chang Wen-yuan and at the same time asked Chang tzu-hsin for explanations regarding the different rituals and their meanings. Although the hot sun gave me a headache, the thrill of acquiring new knowledge was rewarding. In the following are explained in two parts both the indoor and outdoor rituals of exorcism.

I. Indoor Sacrifice

(1) Preparations

When the Pai-mao arrived at the house to perform exorcism, they began making two effigies with rice straw, one a horse and the other a man astride it. Then they wrapped red and green cloth around the straw figure as his garment. This figure is known to the Lolo as chi-tsu. They took a branch of a cypress tree, cut one end of it into two halves like the two ears of a head, and tied silk threads on them. This branch was supposed to represent the spirit soldiers of the chi-tsu, and called by the Lolo, pu-tsu.

(2) The Basis of the Legend

It was said that in very ancient times there were two half brothers, Chang Hsiao and Chang Li. The former was born by his father's first wife, but filial to his stepmother. One day the stepmother became very sick and was on the verge of death beyond any medical cure. Suddenly she had a revelation to the effect that her sickness could be cured by the heart of the phoenix in the imperial palace. So Chang Hsiao sneaked into the palace and stole the phoenix. The prescription was effective and in a few days the patient became well.

But the emperor discovered the theft and had Chang Hsiao arrested and condemned to death. The stepmother heard the news and felt remorseful, saying to her own son, Chang Li: "Son, your elder brother is condemned to death for my sake. His filial piety has moved me greatly. You should die for him in order to show your brotherly love." Chang Li was obedient and went to the execution ground to die for his brother. Being full of filial and fraternal love, Chang Hsiao would not allow his brother to be executed for him. Therefore, at the execution ground the two brothers struggled to die, one for the other. The emperor was moved with compassion by their piety and brotherly love. But the law of the country was fixed and the sentence could not be changed. So he devised a straw effigy to take the place of Chang Hsiao to receive punishment, [28] and the brothers were spared.

Another account has it that Chang Hsiao was a criminal who was promised by a T'ang Emperor as a victim to Heaven. In a certain year during the T'ang dynasty, so the story runs, there was great calamity in the world with people suffering untold hardships. The emperor willed twenty-four heads to Heaven as sacrificial items. When afterwards the calamity was averted, the twenty-four men, including Huang Chao and Chang Hsiao, were to be beheaded. The rest of the story as to how Chang Hsiao was spared is similar to the previous account, that is, the emperor was moved by his filial piety and devised a straw effigy to take his place. There are still other versions, with which we will not be concerned here.

In sum, all these stories go to show that the straw effigy was a substitute for some living person whose crime can be redeemed by its destruction. The practice of the Lolo is based upon this theory as they believe that all the disasters of the family can be banished with the straw man through the incantations of the Pai-mao.

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(3) The Ritual of the Indoor Sacrifice

755 789 After the straw effigy was made, the Pai-mao placed a measure of grain by the doorsill inside the main entrance of the house. On one side of the grain was placed a bowl of rice, on which were an egg and a lump of salt; on the other side a cup of wine. Two cypress leaves were burned and dipped into a bowl of cold water to be used in the place of tea. Three cypress branches were stuck into the earth before the doorsill, on both sides of which stood chi-tsu and pu-tsu. While the branches were being stuck on the ground the human and horse effigies should face toward the house.

After the display the Pai-mao began his exorcising incantation. He first burned red hot a piece of rock, on which he threw water boiled in mulberry leaves. Over the rising vapor caused by the evaporation the priest held the sacrificial animal (pig, goat or chicken, depending upon the condition of the family), circling it around as he spat out a mouthful of wine on its body. This process is known as ta ts'u-tan, signifying the purification of the animal's body. With the Lolo, ta ts'u-tan is an important rite which must be held before the performance of any magic art. After this the Pai-mao, wielding a cypress wand, would mutter liturgies to drive away the evil spirits. From their exorcising scriptures I have gathered the following omens of disaster:

755 787 789

1. A dog barking or wailing without reason.
2. A mother hog giving birth to a litter of four male piglets.
3. A female animal eating up her newly born.
4. A horse neighing during the night.
5. The horse saddle creaking.
6. The cock crowing erratically or before daybreak.
7. A cock aroused while roosting.
8. A hen laying small eggs.
9. A crow cawing.

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10. A pigeon roosting on the roof. 755
11. An ox tail circling round a tree trunk. 787
12. Snakes interweaving their tails. 789
13. Frogs mounting on each other's back.
14. A melon splitting by itself.
15. Insufficient crop yield.
16. Melon vines growing wild.
17. Portents in dreams.
    1. Marriage between parties not of the same generation.
    2. Man wearing clothes; woman discarding them.
    3. Dispatching soldiers toward evening with no road ahead.
    4. Feasting, dining and wining.
    5. Horseback riding.
    6. Fire burning by a man's pillow and things reduced to ashes by his feet.
    7. Woman breaking her ring or bracelet.
    8. Front teeth dropping off.

The above are evil portents to be shunned by the Lolo. When the Pai-mao recited liturgies 755 during the exorcising ceremony, he mentioned them 789 one by one regardless of whether the omens had already brought calamity to the dreamer or not. On reaching certain passages of the scripture the Pai-mao would toss out of the door the topmost cup of wine to offer to the evil spirit. At the same time another man, holding a young chicken (for the use of chick see my article "The Mythology of the Native Peoples in Yunnan," The Southwest Frontier Monthly, No.12) and a few stalks of rice straw, [29] would sweep the floor from the hall of worship to the animal stalls. Thus the evil spirits were swept off from all parts of the house as the Pai-mao continued with more incantations from the evil-exorcising scripture. The priest then turned the chi-tsu and pu-tsu around with their faces outward, showing that all the sins thus chanted

755 out had been borne by the chi-tsu. Turning
787 around toward the door the priest picked up a piece of charcoal, wrapped it up in straw and sprayed on it wine, tea and salt. Thereupon the Pai-mao threw out the package with all his might, and with it was gone forever all the ill luck in the house. After that the priest, holding the chick in one hand and a cypress wand in another, would tap at the walls and doors of all the rooms for fear that some spirits of disaster might be still lurking along the walls. The wand was used to frighten them away. By this time the indoor rite was over and the priest removed the chi-tsu and pu-tsu from the house for the outdoor rite.

II. The Outdoor Sacrifice

"Respect the spirits but keep away from them" is a realistic description of the psychology of the superstitious. Those who fear that the spirits may cause trouble and do not wish to offend them so as to court disaster must make sacrifices to the spirits in all deference. But they also fear that the spirits may hang around the house to start trouble and so they attempt to keep them away by hook or by crook. For this reason they paste at the gate door-gods and posters with rows of white hand designs. Among the former, Chiang Tai-kung is the most reverenced god among the Lolo, every home having at the gate the poster "T'ai-kung is here; all evil spirits be off". It is said that T'ai-kung is the administrator of all evil and noxious spirits. According to the Lolo when the spirits were appointed to their heavenly places, T'ai-kung was made a ts'u-t'an (vinegar and charcoal) god, whose duty it is to exorcise evil spirits just as ta ts'u-t'an is a means of purification. But this is only a preventive measure. When the disaster has already befallen, the only remedy is to ask the Pai-mao to expel all the evil influences from the house; and in case they

may return again the spirits are led far afield 755 789
to be given sacrifices so that they will loiter
away with a full stomach. The two evils most
feared by the Lolo as I have observed are the
demons of the underworld and the greedy and
corrupt officials of the human world for these
two are the sources of all their misfortune and
bankruptcy. The remedy is "to respect them but
also to keep away from them." So they are en-
tertained with wine and meat; as for the latter
they are also bribed with ts'ai-yen" [money and
opium]. (Readers should not think it curious. At 662
least it does not appear so to people living in
the Lolo district because when a committee man
or a government employee goes to the country on
official duty he is given, besides several thou-
sand dollars for traveling expenses, a few
ounces of opium. So the classical term "money
and silk" for bribery should be more properly
changed in current usage to "money and opium".)
For this reason the Lolo fear the officials more
than the spirits. A proverb says: "When an of-
ficial comes to the village, the people suffer
disaster". Is it not true? It is hoped that
there is a T'ai-kung among us who can extirpate
the corrupt officials in the human world.

The outdoor sacrifice is based upon the 755 789
foregoing psychology. The best place for it is
along the river banks, probably to enable the
spirits to flow away with the current. But the
locale I visited had suffered from the drought
terribly, there being barely a trickle of water
running in the sand at the bottom of the river.
I was rather worried for the family, fearing
that a river without water could not carry the
stubborn spirits away.

On arrival the Pai-mao chose a spot of firm 755 789
earth and planted in it cypress branches and 773
white fuel wood about a foot in height in serried
rows. It is said that the white firewood sticks
are the tablets for the spirits. The use of the

755 cypress branches is based upon a certain myth.
789 According to this story, in very early times when
773 heaven and earth were in a dark confusion and the people suffered greatly, the heavenly lord dispatched three Pai-mao to earth on the mission of rescuing the people. The priests rode on cow's backs, their scriptures tied to the horns of the cow. While crossing the ocean the scriptures got wet from the sea water, and so after reaching land the Pai-mao dried the books on the branches of a cypress tree. But the books stuck on the leaves and twigs, and a half of them were torn out. (Some say that it is the eagles that have clawed into the books; so today when the Pai-mao chants liturgies he wears a cap in the form of eagle's claws to represent the scriptures destroyed). Thus the scriptures used today represent only one half of the original, and the planted cypress branches are meant as a substitute for the lost books.

755 Having completed planting the sticks and the
789 spirit seats, the Pai-mao began chanting liturgies to invoke the spirit of the mountain to receive the sacrifice and to watch over the welfare of the family. This mountain spirit is equivalent to the Chinese earth god, because he is the administrator of the area. In all outdoor sacrifices an animal is used (generally a cock for the mountain spirit); so he receives quite a substantial offering.

755 After the sacrificial ceremony divination
789 was performed to find out whether it was good or
787 bad fortune. Divination is an essential part of the sacrificial rite, and the method used by the Lolo is very simple. The Pai-mao used a mulberry stem about three inches in length and a half inch in thickness. [30] This was sharpened at one end into the shape of a wedge and then split into two halves to form a divining tablet. At the time of divination, it was smeared with some chicken blood or wine. As the Pai-mao mumbled liturgies he

threw the tablet on the ground. If one surface of the split tablet faces upward and the other downward, it would bring good fortune; otherwise it would be badfortune, and the whole process had to be started all over until good fortune appeared. 755 789 787

After good fortune was shown, the Pai-mao would then chant the scripture of sacrifice. The sacrifice itself took the following order: 755 789

1. Live Sacrifice. This was the sacrifice before slaughter.
2. Dead Sacrifice. After slaughter the carcass is offered for sacrifice.
3. Cooked Sacrifice. The meat is cooked and then offered for sacrifice.

The above three steps are essential in the sacrificial rites of the Lolo people.

After the cooked sacrifice the food was partaken of at a meal on the spot.I was invited to the picnic. We all did our best to finish up a roasted piglet, because the food offered in the outdoor sacrifice might not be brought back home for fear that the evil spirits might come back with it.

After supper darkness had already enveloped the earth; therefore, torches were lit for the evening ceremony. Shortly, the Pai-mao picked up the cypress wand and standing amidst the planted sticks, began to recite the liturgies aloud. He held in one hand several straw rings, with one of which he stroked the mistress of the family from head to foot, calling her by her name so as to rid her of bad luck. Then he hung the ring on the chi-tsu so that her misfortune, now gathered in the ring, would be taken over by the effigy. This rite was repeated on each and every member of the family. Next the Pai-mao took a rice spoon, into which the members of the family all expectorated, indicating that their misfortunes and diseases had all been spat out. The saliva was poured

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789 upon the chi-tsu. Both he and the pu-tsu were then taken down and offered before the spirit tablets for sacrifice, and after this they were burned among the branches planted on the ground. Thereupon three cypress branches were stuck horizontally on the ground as a sort of blockade to prevent the chi-tsu from coming back with the disaster. Later a straw rope was held by the Pai-mao at one end and the mistress of the family at the other, the former chanting liturgies and at the same time cutting the rope into three sections to indicate a permanent severance with disaster.

The final act was the cleansing three times by the vapor of the ts'u-t'an stone. The mistress of the family was kind and insisted that I follow her through the steaming vapor three times. In this way whatever misfortune that still clung to the body would be finally wiped away with the ts'u-t'an steam and sent to T'ai-kung to be suppressed.

That day was the last day of the fourth moon. In the pitch darkness I returned from the river bank with the mistress and her servants. As we trod along the uneven mountain path, several times I was in danger of falling down. Once when I climbed a steep stony slope, I slipped and nearly fell over the precipice. I complained to her: "Why did we not bring a torch with us?" She replied that any twig or leaf from the sacrificial ground might not be taken back for fear that misfortune would come back with us. She advised me to be brave and to continue climbing for since we had just come back from the exorcising ceremony, there could not be any disaster happening to us. I could not resist a laugh and said: "Thanks to your good intentions and to the ts'u-t'an cleansing, otherwise I would have been a cliff-fallen devil." The mistress laughed happily and gave me the feeling that the Lolo people are truly superstitious.

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I carefully climbed to the hilltop, and as I turned around to look at the altar of sacrifice below, I found the fire that had burned down the chi-tsu was still flickering. In front of me a light seemed to show the path. I thanked my hostess and went alone on my way home. 755 789

Written on the second day of the ceremony, June 3, 1943, at the Hsi-chih Hall in the T'u-ssu yamen at Wan-teh. Revised on December 1, 1943 at Tien-hua Lane in Kunming, and finished copying on December 9 at the Far Eastern Hotel in Pi-chieh while waiting for the train.

4:Lei--2 E-5 (1939)1944 AE4 Lolo AE4

753 contains the following quotation from the Ch'u-hsiung Gazetteer:

> Any sickness taking place after the burial of deceased parents is attributed to the working of their spirits, and their graves have to be excavated in order to examine their bones to determine the extent of disaster.

776 This is just one example. The particular conception of the Lolo at Sung-tzu-yüan in Ch'êng-chiang regarding the spirits and ancestor worship is that after a man's death his soul still lingers in the shades, watching over his offspring and sending them "blessing" or "disaster" according to their goodness or badness in 769 filial piety. In every family are displayed the tablets for three generations of ancestors as well as the bamboo spirit and the pine spirit to represent all early ancestors. In the last twenty years they have come under the influence of Chinese customs and added to their household altar the spirit tablets of "Heaven, Earth, Lord, Parents, and Masters." Their ancestor worship has slightly changed with the change of times.

I. Burial Customs

In many aspects, the customs of burial are closely related to ancestor worship, and to analyse them helps us to understand better the different phases of ancestor worship. We shall divide our study into five phases: (1) death, (2) funeral, (3) disposal of the dead, (4) graves, (5) mourning.

755 [753] (1) Death. A man becoming sick never has the benefit of medicine. Sickness is considered as a disturbance of the spirits. When the spirit

is exorcised the sick person will get well. And so in case of sickness they ask a wizard priest to their home to pray and to drive away the evil spirit. If after several magic performances the person shows no sign of improvement, he is left to the will of Heaven, either to recover or to die. The official annal of Yunnan has the following to say: 755

> Sickness requires no medicine but consultation by the Pi-mo (Lolo word for the wizard priest) of the almanac to determine the date of birth and the date of sickness, as well as the symbolic animals such as cow, goat, pig, or chicken to which that particular date may belong. Accordingly prayer and sacrifice are made to one of these animals. (The Black Lolo)

/32/ The same annal further states:

> Sickness is not healed by medicine but by the magic of the wizard priest. (Tung-ts'uan Man)

Therefore, we know that for the Lolo the method of cure is not by medicine but by the magic of the priest. In the last decade, however, the Pi-mo as a cult practicer has gone out of existence at its Sung-tzu-yüan area, and there is no priest available for the purpose. On the other hand, a doctor of Western training, 757 one Mr. Tuan Hsin-wu, in Ch'êng-chiang has been in good relation with the Lolo villagers, and each time Doctor Tuan happens to be in the village the Lolo would ask him to attend to their sick. It can be seen that unconsciously [753] the Lolo have adopted a new point of view regarding sickness. But Doctor Tuan does not visit them too frequently, because of the

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

791 certainly accept such an illustration as corresponding closely to their actual rank.

755 In a certain sense these men are also a kind of medicine men in that they deal with diseases of all classes and claim to cure by going to the real cause of the disease. The majority of them have nothing to do with drugs, and when one looks at the advertisement pages of Western newspapers and reads all the puffing accounts of patent drugs which one knows very well cannot possibly do always all that they claim to do, one wonders whether after all these Pee-mo are not on as high a level, or higher, than the many men who make their money by the sale of drugs which may have quick action but which certainly do not move the cause of many of the diseases which so distress mankind. In giving a wide berth to drugs and herbs, and professing to remove the initial cause of disease, these men are aiming at something which most modern medical men are aiming at. If you put germ for demon, then there is much that is similar in both Nosu Pee-mo and the modern physician. In the disregard and almost contempt for drugs which this class of men display they have strikingly anticipated the trend of the modern medical profession. But in his ascribing all disease to the influence of evil spirits who are often under the control of men like himself, he surely is very old-world in his ignorance.

189 According to these men there is the grip of the demon everywhere, and people are afraid to do many things lest their actions should provoke an outburst from some of these evil inhabitants of both worlds.

An incident we were witness of after watching the séance in the slave's home near Ah-ku's tower convinced one that the wizard believed what he preached. He was sincere in his

other Orientals. 000

The so-called pi-mo (Bemo) among the Lolo probably correspond to the shih-kung /male instructors/ among the Chinese, and hold a very important position in Lolo society. The I have no formal religious beliefs, nor do they worship gods; they do not even have ancestral tablets at home. But like other primitive tribes, they have a strong superstitious belief in ghosts and spirits. They do not administer medicine to cure the sick, who are supposed to have been possessed by demons, but kill chickens (ta chi) or sheep (ta yang) as a form of prayer to the spirits. They kill a chicken to cure a light illness; for more serious illness, they kill a pig, a sheep or a cow in proportion to the severity of the case. At the same time a pi-mo is invited to pray and exorcise the ghosts through sacrifices. If there is no recovery after all these endeavors they consider the case as hopeless and accept death, in which case the pi-mo is invited again to pray and release the soul from sufferings in the next world. Their only scientific measure against contagious diseases is to isolate a victim and his dwelling from others so as to prevent the disease from spreading. For this reason a place may be shut off for several weeks. [756] 755

The pi-mo are the only ones among the I versed in the Lolo language. They belong to the Wa-tzu class but are respected by the Heh-I because of their special position as scholars and exorcisers of ghosts in the Lolo society. They can practice only after several years of of apprenticeship with a senior pi-mo. They are called upon to attend all important affairs as well as cases of sickness and funerals mentioned above. They also participate in weddings and New Year festivals. Their other responsibilities include fortune-telling and choosing propitious days for fighting blood-feuds among themselves or joining in battle against the Chinese. -756

The different I branches may be either "ch'in chia" /relatives/ or "yüan chia" /enemies/. The I of the same branch cannot intermarry for the same reason that among the Chinese there is "no marriage between those of the same family name." The prospective bride or groom is usually chosen from a neighboring I branch. With repeated marriages, family relationships may be either manifold or interlinked; e.g., the three chia of Wu-po, A-lu and Ma-shih in the Ta-Liang-shan region are all related to one another. The branches related through marriages are called "ch'in chia" and work closely together, /117/ giving mutual aid in times of trouble even at the risk of death. They are as close to one another as those of the same clan (those who belong to the same branch. 582 546

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao
Lolo AE4

585 visit. Anciently the shortest period was three years, but some allow ten or more years to elapse before the first visit home is paid. Two or three years are then often spent with the parents.

776 Like the Miao, and other races of China,
753 the No-su live in great fear of demons. They understand hardly anything about medicine, and so exorcists are in constant demand. What we have said of the Miao and their superstitions in reference to demons might be repeated almost word for word about the No-su. When it is known that disease has visited a neighbour's house, a pole seven feet long is erected in a conspicuous place in a thicket some distance from the house of any one who wishes to be safe. On the pole an old ploughshare is fixed, and it is supposed that when the spirit who controls the disease sees the ploughshare he will retire to a distance from these homesteads.

[764] There is a fever called *No-ma-tsi* which works
757 great havoc among the No-su every year. No person will stay by the sick-bed to nurse the unfortunate patient. Food and water are placed by the bedside, the sick one is covered with a quilt and left at the mercy of the disease. Since the patient will perspire as the fever progresses, heavy stones are placed upon the quilt that it may not be thrown off and the patient take